

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 223020

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 223020 ACTION USUN NEW YORK INFO NATO  
GENEVA MOSCOW LONDON OTTAWA WELLINGTON BONN ROME THE HAGUE  
BRUSSELS TOKYO CANBERRA 9 OCT 74

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 223020

DISTO

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: SENV, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET DRAFT RES ON ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION

REF: (A) USUN 3428 (NOTAL); (B) USUN 3497(NOTAL)

1. BASIC OBJECTIVES FOR US HANDLING OF SOV ENMOD ITEM  
WILL BE TO PRESERVE US SUBSTANTIVE OPTIONS IN CONNECTION  
WITH SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS ON THIS SUBJECT WITH SOVIETS  
OR IN MULTILATERAL FORUM. IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE, OUR AIM  
IS TO AVOID PASSAGE OF RESOLUTION ON THIS SUBJECT WHICH  
COULD PREJUDGE POSSIBLE OUTCOME SUCH NEGOTIATIONS, SUCH  
AS PRESENT SOVIET RESOLUTION APPEARS TO DO (PARA 3(D)  
BELOW). LIKEWISE, WE WISH TO SHOW SOVS OUR CONTINUED  
INTEREST IN SUBJECT AND IN CONSULTATIONS WITH THEM,  
WHILE AT SAME TIME INDICATING SOME UNHAPPINESS AT HAVING  
OUR HAND FORCED AND OUR UNWILLINGNESS TO BE PRESSURED  
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ON THIS SUBJECT. WE ALSO WANT TO CONSULT WITH OUR PRINCI-

PAL ALLIES ON THIS MATTER AND KEEP THEM WITH US.

2. PRINCIPAL TACTICAL PROBLEMS ARE WHEN (AND HOW FAR WE CAN AND SHOULD TRY) TO GET SOVS TO CHANGE THEIR RESOLUTION TO ACCORD WITH OUR OBJECTIVES. WE ASSUME FROM MANNER IN WHICH SOVIETS HAVE THUS FAR HANDLED ITEM AND FROM CONVERSATION WITH AMB. ROSCHIN REPORTED REFTEL B THAT SOVIETS WILL PRESS THEIR DRAFT RES, OR ONE SIMILAR TO IT, TO A VOTE. WE ALSO ASSUME, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT REALITIES OF

UNGA, THAT RESOLUTION WOULD BE ADOPTED BY LARGE MAJORITY, BARRING A MAJOR CAMPAIGN BY US AGAINST RESOLUTION, WHICH WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE SUCCESSFUL. FACT THAT SOVIETS HAVE SOLICITED SUPPORT FROM SOME 96 GOVERNMENTS, ACCORDING TO REFTEL B,

SUGGESTS THAT SOVIETS MAY NOT BE RECEPTIVE TO CHANGES IN THEIR RESOLUTION, AT LEAST UNTIL PROCESS OF CONSIDERATION HAS GONE FAIRLY FAR ALONG IN FIRST COMMITTEE. ACCORDINGLY, WE HOPE TO BE ABLE TO INCREASE POSSIBLE INCENTIVE OF SOVIETS TO ACCEPT CHANGES WHICH MEET OUR CONCERNS, BY CONVEYING POSITIONS WHICH SEEM REASONABLE AND WHICH WILL MAKE SOVIETS LOOK UNREASONABLE IF THEY ARE NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT AMENDMENTS. OUR FIRST STEP WILL BE TO TALK TO OUR PRINCIPAL ALLIES ALONG LINES OUTLINED BELOW AND, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT ANY OF THEIR OBSERVATIONS, WE WOULD THEN GIVE SOVIETS SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS FOR CHANGES.

3. OUR POSITION REGARDING SOVIET RES, AS A WHOLE, IS AS FOLLOWS:

(A) WE ARE PREPARED TO SUPPORT A RESOLUTION WHICH RECOGNIZES THE DANGERS OF ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION FOR MILITARY PURPOSES AS A SUBJECT FOR SERIOUS CONSIDERATION LOOKING TOWARD EFFECTIVE RESTRAINTS. THIS IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE TEXT OF OUR AGREEMENT AT THE MOSCOW SUMMIT.

(B) WE AGREE TO REFERRAL OF THIS SUBJECT TO THE GENEVA DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (CCD) WITH THE REQUEST THAT IT REPORT BACK TO THE NEXT UNGA, ALTHOUGH THIS WOULD NOT BE CONFIDENTIAL

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NECESSARILY IMPLY COMPLETION OF CCD CONSIDERATION OF THIS MATTER PRIOR TO NEXT GA.

(C) ALTHOUGH WE WOULD PREFER NOT TO REFER TO FULL TITLE OF SOVIET DRAFT CONVENTION (WHICH CLEARLY CONTAINS SERIOUS DEFECTS), WE WOULD NOT OBJECT TO THIS PROVIDED THAT OTHER ASPECTS OF RESOLUTION ARE SATISFACTORILY MODIFIED AND PROVIDED THAT THERE IS NO APPROVAL OR ENDORSEMENT OF

SOVIET DRAFT CONVENTION.

(D) RESOLUTION SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, APPEAR TO PREJUDGE SUBSTANTIVE OUTCOMES. SOVIET DRAFT RES APPEARS TO DO THIS IN TWO RESPECTS:

(1) OP PARA 1 REACHES CONCLUSION THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO ADOPT EFFECTIVE MEASURES IN FORM OF INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION. THIS REPRESENTS ONE POSSIBLE OUTCOME OF

NEGOTIATIONS, BUT IT IS PREMATURE TO DECLARE IT NECESSARY TO ADOPT SUCH A CONVENTION BEFORE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS HAVE DETERMINED WHETHER THIS IS POSSIBLE OR WHETHER IT IS BEST MEANS OF ACHIEVING DESIRED CONSTRAINTS. OP PARA 3, IN GIVING GUIDANCE TO COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT (CCD) ALSO PREJUDGES RESULT OF FURTHER WORK IN THIS MANNER.

(2) SOVIET DRAFT RESOLUTION USES WORDING IN OPERATIVE PARA 1 AND PENULTIMATE PREAMBULAR PARA TO DESCRIBE PROHIBITED ACTIONS. IN OUR VIEW, DEFINITION OF PROHIBITED ACTIONS SHOULD BE WORKED OUT IN COURSE OF FURTHER STUDY AND NEGOTIATIONS. SPECIFICALLY, PHRASE "TO PROHIBIT ACTION TO INFLUENCE THE ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE FOR MILITARY AND OTHER PURPOSES INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, HUMAN WELL-BEING AND HEALTH" PREJUDGES COMPLEX QUESTIONS OF DEFINITION, WHICH

ARE YET TO BE CONSIDERED. WE MUCH PREFER SOMETHING BASED ON LANGUAGE USED IN US-JOINT COMMUNIQUE WHICH REFERS TO USE OF ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION TECHNIQUES FOR MILITARY PURPOSES THAT COULD HAVE WIDESPREAD, LONG-CONFIDENTIAL

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LASTING, AND SEVERE EFFECTS HARMFUL TO HUMAN WELFARE. (WHILE SOVIET LANGUAGE ALSO APPEARS IN OPERATIVE PARA 2, IT IS ONLY A REFERENCE WHICH QUOTES THE TITLE OF THE

SOVIET DRAFT CONVENTION AND DOES NOT INVOLVE ANY FORM OF GA APPROVAL).

4. FOR USUN: WE WOULD NOT EXPECT TO MOUNT SUSTAINED HIGH-LEVEL EFFORT ALONG LINES OUTLINED ABOVE UNTIL DISARMAMENT REPS OF KEY ALLIED AND FRIENDLY DELS HAVE ARRIVED IN NEW YORK. MEANWHILE, HOWEVER, MISSION SHOULD DRAW ON THIS MESSAGE IN REPLYING TO QUERIES ABOUT US ATTITUDE RE SOVIET DRAFT RES AND CONVENTION AND IN CONSULTATIONS WHICH MAY BE INITIATED AT WORKING LEVEL. AS DISARMAMENT DEBATE PROCEEDS IN FIRST COMMITTEE, US DEL

SHOULZ WORK WITH REPS OF ALLIED AND FRIENDLY DELS TT ENCOURAGE THEM TO MAKE CLEAR TO SOVIETS THEIR DESIRE NOT TO SEE ANY RESOLUTION PREJUDGE RESULTS OF LATER NEGOTIATIONS, SO AS TO MAXIMIZE SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER APPROPRIATE AMENDMENTS. ASSUMING ALLIES AGREE

WITH US ON BASIC APPROACH WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THEIR IDEAS ON BEST TACTICS FOR GETTING SOVIET RES INTO REASONABLE FORM.

5. IT IS OUR INTENTION TO INSTRUCT US MISSION TO GO OVER FOREGOING US POSITITN WITH SOVIET DEL, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT VIEWS OF ALLIES, BUT WE WISH TO REVIEW SITUATION PRIOR TT SUCH AN APPROACHWM IN SEEKING SOVIET COOPERATION ON CHANGES, WE WOULD POINT TO TBLIGATION INHERENT

T  
IN SUMMIT AGREEMENT TO DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT WITH US, AND TO NEED FOR US-SOVIET COOPERATION IF SUBJECT IS TO BE TREATED AS ONE FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.

6. INFO ADDRESSEES (EXCEPT MOSCOW AND GENEVA) SHOULD REINFORCE BASIC US APPROACH AS OPPORTUNITIES ARISE, AFTER USUN HAS HELD INITIAL CONSULTATIONS. INGERSOLL  
UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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